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A SHORT
HISTORY
OF THE
PARLIAMENT.

THE HISTORY
OF THE
PARLIAMENTS

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Venalis Populus venalis Curia Patrum !



L O N D O N,

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Handwritten marks: "10 La" at top right, "5/11y R" and "11y" with a slash in the right margin, "J. G. H. B. R. B. B. B." and "K." in the middle right, and a large "H" at bottom left.

A SHORT

HISTORY

7

OF THE

PARTIALITY

IN THE

STATE

AND

OF THE

REPUBLIC

~~What a pity it is that the world is not better recommended; and though private interest may generally prevail in the choice of patrons, I was~~

TO THE RIGHT HONOURABLE

~~out any other regard, to fix upon a Lord whom all the~~

Lord

~~World should agree to have the best light and title in the dedication: And here it was impossible to be long at a loss; were I to celebrate the Actions of Alexander, Kamilar, and General, to whom could I think of inscribing such an Under-~~

My LORD,

WHEN a Man resolves to turn Author, he immediately looks out for some *Great Man*, under whose Protection, he hopes his Works

The Dedication.

Works may come into the World better recommended ; and though private Interest has generally a great influence in the choice of Patrons, I was resolv'd upon this occasion without any other Regard, to fix upon a Person, whom all the World shou'd agree to have the best Right and Title to this Dedication : And here it was impossible to be long at a loss ; were I to celebrate the Actions of *Blenheim*, *Ramilies*, and *Oudenard*, to whom cou'd I think of inscribing such an Undertaking, but to the *Great General* who was known to Command on those Glorious Days, and without naming his Name, every body wou'd agree to whom alone the Honour was due ; In
com-

The Dedication.

commemorating the three last Winter Campaigns in Parliament, which though not exposed to much Danger, must be allow'd to require some Conduct and Generalship, at whose Feet cou'd I think of laying this Treatise, but at your Lordships, and to mention your Name, wou'd be to suppose that the Fame and Reputation which you have acquir'd by retrieving the Affairs of the *French King*, was not as well known to all the World as the mistaken Glory of the *Duke of Marlborough* in distressing him; your Troops, it must be confessed, were good, ready at the word of Command, to go upon any Attack, resolute and determin'd to go thro' upon all Adventures; but yet as the Glory
of

The Dedication.

of Conducting them is entirely due to your Lordship, I beg leave to lay before you this short Treatise, which I have undertaken, not out of any Affection to Scribling, much less with hopes of any Reward from your Lordship. I will therefore neither prefix your Name, nor subscribe my own, trusting that the World will easily know the one, and hardly guess at the other.

In Writing this short History, I have endeavour'd to State all the Facts fairly, and in their true Light, that the whole World may be judge of the Benefits they received from the present Parliament, and that all *England* may see, what they have

The Dedication.

have done for the quiet of these Nations and the Universal Good, and that the Freeholders may at the next Election, if they think fit, make choice of such Men, as are resolv'd to Act upon the same Principles, with the same Prudence and Vigour, and under the same, I mean your Lordship's, auspicious Influence.

No doubt, my Lord, the Expence of management has been great, but had one short Rule been observ'd, and had the Members receiv'd no more, than they truly deserv'd from their Country, I am of Opinion, the Commons might have been paid, as they are said to have paid the Nations Debts, without one Farthing charge to the People.

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Far

The Dedication.

Far be it from me to detract from the Honour of that Noble Assembly ; but if it were no Offence to you Lordship's great Modesty, I would take upon me to say, they could never have perform'd *so many Remarkable Services*, had they not firmly adher'd to your Lordship, and their *Monosyllables*.

To these therefore, and your Lordship, the Honour is due of all that the following Sheets contain ; To your Lordship's great Truth and Sincerity, is owing the present indefeasible Security of the Protestant Succession in the *House of HANOVER*, and the perfect Friendship between Her Majesty and that
Illustrious

The Dedication.

Illustrious House. To your Lordship's Zeal, for the Establish'd Religion, and Aversion to Fanaticism, is owing the safety of our Church; To the Love of your Country, and your deep skill in Foreign Affairs, is owing the Glory of the Peace, and the Ballance of Power in *Europe*; To your great Wisdom, we owe the Extention of our Trade; and to your Vigilance, the Demolition of *Dunkirk*; In short, to your Lordship's Dexterity and Munificence, we owe what was done in the *one House*, and to your Eloquence, Perspicuity, and *Twelve Peers*, whatever was done in the *Other*.

The Dedication.

Thus my Lord, the Merit of
all that has of late been Trans-
acted, may be justly attributed
to your Lordship ; There are
some, very few I hope, who may
deny your Lordship these At-
tributes, and fewer yet, who will
be unwilling they shou'd meet
with their just Reward,

I am, &c.

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OF THE
PARLIAMENT.

IT has been usual, at the end of former Parliaments, to give the World some Account or History of their Proceedings; and as this Parliament may be truly said to have distinguish'd themselves from all that ever went before them; I think it but a piece of Justice due to them, to those that chose them, and to those who are soon to proceed to a new Election, to give a short Sketch of their most Extraordinary Transactions; which, I doubt not, will preserve the Memory of this Parliament to Posterity.

Former Parliaments have reckon'd it their chief Honour and Glory, to have faithfully discharg'd the part of
Patriots

Patriots, and with all due regard to the Prerogative, thought it the principal Duty of the Representative of the People, to watch over, and secure the Rights, Priviledges, Liberties, and Properties of the Subject; what Care or Concern of this kind has been seen in this Parliament, I need not say: They have Prided themselves in the Titles of *Dutiful and Loyal*, a Character that no future Parliament will ever want, that will be ready always to comply with, and support the Projects of an enterprizing Ministry: But let the Electors consider, whether such Qualifications are fitter for a Member of Parliament of *Great-Britain*, or the Parliament of *Paris*.

At the time this Parliament was chosen, all thinking Men were under the greatest apprehensions of the dreadful Consequences that must attend such a sudden change of Affairs as was then seen, and carried on with so much fury.

The former Measures most visibly tended to nothing, but confirming a Noble Alliance, form'd to reduce the exorbitant Power of *France*, to rescue *Spain* and the *Indies* from the *House of Bourbon*, and thereby to settle a true Ballance of Power in *Europe*, to
secure

secure the Protestant Interest, and in particular the *Protestant Succession* to the Crown of *Great-Britain*.

These great ends were the chief view of those, that serv'd the QUEEN, for the Eight first years of her Reign; and with what Success they serv'd her, their worst Enemies do confess.

But when a new Scheme was concerted, the contrary Measures were immediately to be enter'd upon; The War must be ended, the Grand Alliance Dissolv'd, and to perfect all, Peace and a strict Friendship with *France* must be concluded.

But as these Doctrines, when they were entirely new, were at first surprising and shocking to all the Nation, to surmise such Events, was call'd *Malice* and *Faction*; If any such thing cou'd be design'd; the Parliament, to be sure, wou'd never come into it, and this was to be our great Security; but how far the Fears and Apprehensions of all honest Men have been justified by the Event, is now no longer a Question; and as without the concurrence of a Parliament, it was impossible to have plung'd the Nation into such inextricable difficulties; I will give you a short view,
what

what a share the Parliament has had in this wonderful Undertaking, and how far they have contributed to the ruin of their Country.

I have too much Charity to believe, that all, who have been consenting to these pernicious Measures, equally design'd the Mischiefs that have come upon us; Those, who have had the management of this great Machine, and seem indeed to understand nothing, but the managing of *Parties*, and making a proper use of the weakness, and corruption of Mankind, knew this desperate Game was not to be play'd, but by the utmost Dissimulation, and by deceiving, and imposing upon great Numbers of well-meaning Men: Specious pretences have never been wanting to gild the bitter Pill, and the Nation by degrees has been drawn into these extremes: But as Gentlemen's eyes begin to be open'd, they surely will resent such intollerable treatment, and when they find, that what they were told of other People, was utterly false; and that all the great Advantages, they were made to hope for, from this new Scheme, end in nothing, or what is worse, in the Ruin of their Country; they

they will begin to think, before it's too late, what must be the unavoidable Consequence, if they persist to go blindly on, and follow the Dictates of those, who have thus grossly deluded them.

As there was nothing, which, *Queen Lords and Commons* in all former Parliaments, and the whole Nation had express'd a greater Zeal and Concern for, than securing *Spain and the West-Indies to the House of Austria*; it had been too gross, at the first opening of this Parliament, to have discover'd the design of giving them entirely into the hands of *France*; The Commons therefore are taught to declare, for * *a vigorous prosecution of the War in all its parts, and especially in Spain*, for it was not yet time to take off the Mask and confess that the War was to be ended, let the Consequence be what it would.

Soon after an Account comes of an Action in *Spain*, much to the disadvantage of *King Charles*, which *Her Majesty* communicates to the Parliament. The Commons, still Zealous for the *War in Spain*, think it necessary for *her Majesty* to give Directions † *for sending and procuring*

* Commons Address, Nov. 30. 1710.

† Commons Address, Jan. 3. 1710.

caring more Troops to repair this loss, and
 not discourag'd by Misfortunes, promise to
 use their utmost endeavours, to enable her
 Majesty to carry on the just and necessary
 War, in which She was engag'd; and to sup-
 port her in such Measures, as on this occa-
 sion shou'd be thought proper to retrieve the
 loss in Spain. So the War at that time it
 seems was just and necessary, and Spain at
 any rate was then thought worth the
 saving. And yet, methinks, if we had
 been very much in earnest, even at that
 time, we should have heard of Forces
 sent from hence, or Forreigners hir'd to
 repair this loss; but as the Parliament
 had never any curiosity to enquire how
 far this Address had been comply'd with,
 I am afraid, King Charles, from that
 hour, never found any effect of this
 great Zeal for his Service.

However, publick Declarations in his
 Favour are still thought necessary. Upon
 the death of the Emperour, to prevent the
 ill Consequence thereof, * the Interests of
 the House of Austria are to be supported,
 and the utmost endeavours are to be us'd, to
 promote the Election of the King of Spain
 to the Empire. These endeavours are us'd,
 and prove successful; but who would
 have

* Commons Address, April 20. 1711.

have thought at that time, that the *Empire* was to be purchas'd by King *Charles*, at so dear a rate, as the loss of the *Crown of Spain*; but so it has happen'd, and the only Argument that has been us'd, for giving *Spain* to King *Philip*, has been to preserve the Ballance of Power in *Europe*, which would otherwise be in danger from the Conjunction of the *Empire and Spain*; but I dare answer for the Parliament, whatever others might design, they did not in the least foresee this unhappy Consequence: Thus we see thro' the whole course of this first Session, This Parliament was Zealously devoted to the Interest of King *Charles* as King of *Spain*.

Before the next Session, a Project of Peace had been set on foot, and the World began to suspect, that *Spain* was now to be given up to the *House of Bourbon*; I must do the Parliament that Justice to confess, that this, at first, gave offence to a great many; they knew not very well, how to relish such a direct contradiction to all they had been saying, and doing for so many years past; and with these Sentiments, 'tis very well known, that most Gentlemen came out of the Country, to attend the Second

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Session

Session of Parliament; but a few Prorogations, some Town Conversation, and a little secret Conviction, brought this matter to a Composition; and in case nothing was said expressly of Spain, a General Address, * *fall of entire confidence, and satisfaction in the Just and Honourable Peace in view*, which no body then knew one word of, was agreed to.

This matter then was to be managed a little more tenderly, and the Commons were to be taught a new Lesson; In order to this a Pamphlet called *the Conduct of the Allies, &c.* was Publish'd, and a great deal of Industry used, to make this the *Political Creed of the Party*, which all the *Orthodox Friends of France* embrac'd very readily; and in this was to be found the whole Scheme of the Proceeding of that Session; This Master-piece, fill'd with falsities, and misrepresentations, was no sooner dispers'd and canvass'd in the World, but it produc'd the desired effect, affording Arguments, for Artful and Ill-designing Instruments, to prevent and prejudice the Minds of weak and deluded People, and firing others, who had no leisure or

* Commons Address, Decemb. 8. 1711.

opportunity to be better inform'd,
 with Resentment and Indignation a-
 gainst all the *Allies*, who, they had been
 made to believe, had dealt so unfaithful-
 ly with us, and accordingly Addresses
 are made in Parliament, * for *Accounts*
of the Quota's and Proportions of Her Ma-
jesty and Her Allies during the War, and
how the same have been observed, for all
Treaties for raising and augmenting Pro-
portions, † and whatever else was
 thought necessary for carrying on the
 Grand Design. These Addresses pro-
 duce States of the War, prepar'd by
 those, who had procur'd 'em to be call'd
 for, and who would not, in all proba-
 bility, deliver any but such as serv'd their
 own purpose; upon the Day appointed
 to consider of the State of the War,
Eleven Questions are brought into the
 House ready Pen'd, and all number'd,
 and put into the Hands of proper Per-
 sons, who mov'd them in a very decent
 order; and without any more Ceremo-
 ny, the Parliament, in an Hour's time,
 judg'd and censur'd the *late Emperor*, the
 present Emperor, the *King of Portugal*,
 and the *States General*; with all whom
 it had been so lately declar'd, that a
 strict

* Decemb. 20. 1711.

† Jan. 31.

strict Friendship and Good Correspondence was above all things, to be cultivated, to render the Peace secure and lasting.

This was a handsom step for one day, and a good preparative for what was to follow; but as the giving up *Spain* was the great stumbling block that was to be remov'd, something more was necessary to be done; another is appointed for considering the State of the War, and there several Resolutions are made, usher'd in in the same manner, stating the Expence of the War in *Spain*, which is there represented to be most Extravagant, and to have cost an immense sum, and such as the Nation cou'd not any longer possibly endure; by this means the way is pav'd for giving up *Spain*, and what had been long before agreed to, but conceal'd, was now brought to maturity, and began publicly to be avow'd and supported.

In a short time afterwards the Terms of * a General Peace are communicated, wherein the giving up *Spain* and the *Indies*, appears to be almost the only thing that was fully agreed to, and concluded;

cluded; but the Loyal Commons full of Indignation against the Allies, and aggrieved with the great Burthen of the Spanish War, with **Hearts full of Gratitude for what had already been obtain'd*, which seem'd to be nothing but a French Renunciation, want Words to express the Satisfaction, with which they received the Good News of a proposal, for giving Spain to King Philip, which was to execute it self.

I have neither Room, nor Time here, to enter into a justification of the Allies, and to shew the falsities and misrepresentations of the State of the War in all its parts; The States General, sensible of the injustice, that was done them, represented their Case in a Memorial to the Queen, which fully prov'd they were wrongfully charg'd, by the Votes and Resolutions of the House of Commons; This indeed was not to be endur'd, that any Body should dare to undecieve the World; The Memorial therefore is first call'd a *† pretended Memorial*, and then Voted a *False, Scandalous and Malicious Libel*; and Mr. Buckley Author of the *Daily Courant*, who Printed it, taken into Custody of the Serjeant at Arms; such consummate Justice all have met with who dar'd to speak unseasonable Truths, either

* Commons Address, June 6. 1711. . . . † April 8. 1712.

either within Doors, or without. The *States General*. I presume, escap'd an express censure because *Her Majesty* had this Session declar'd * *their Interest inseparable from Her own*, and the Parliament had concurr'd with her in it.

The next thing I shall Remark of this Parliament, is, the Methods they took to recommend themselves to the People; this they labour'd, by endeavouring to detect great Frauds, and Abuses, and Misapplications of Publick Money, during the late Administration; their Discoveries are all Summ'd up, in a general Representation to the Queen; of which I will venture to assert, that all the Particulars consist, either of Falsties, or Mistakes, or Misrepresentations; and that where ever the fact is true, the same things have been done a gain by the present Ministry, and either justified or not animadverted upon by this Parliament.

The greatest instance is, that £. 35,000,000. were not accounted for; but this charge has been so fully confuted, and it has been so evidently prov'd, that of the £. 35 Millions, Accounts had been duly render'd for all but 4 Millions, which is much short of one Years supply, to which the least answer has never been given; that 'tis needless to enlarge upon that.

But

But here may be seen a true Specimen of the Candor, and Justice of this House of Commons. The two Uses that were to be made of this Vote, were to raise a Clamor in the Country, and to come at a Censure of the Late Lord Treasurer, whom they voted * guilty of a notorious Breach of Trust, and High Injustice to the Nation, for not compelling the respective Accountants to pass their Accounts. If he was guilty, it must be by sending Orders or Warrants, to the Deputy Remembrancer, to stay Process. This the House of Commons was sensible of, and therefore in order to have the whole Matter before them, on Thursday the 26th of April, 1711, they order'd the Deputy Remembrancer to lay before the House, what Orders he had receiv'd for staying or issuing Process against Accountants. On Tuesday following, the 1st of May, the Deputy Remembrancer presents the said Orders and Warrants; but our worthy Patriots, impatient of Delay, on Saturday the 28th of April, resum'd the Consideration of this Affair, and proceeded to judge and Censure, before the only Evidence, which could set

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* April 28th, 1710.

this Matter in a true Light, was before them, which they themselves had call'd for, and which prov'd a full Justification of the Person, whom they thought it necessary first to hang, and then to try.

The next Article is the Debt of the Navy: This too has been so fully explain'd, that it needs no further Justification: But this gave the Parliament Occasion to declare, That * *Exceeding the Parliamentary Provisions, was a New and Illegal Practice, and a dangerous Invasion of the Rights of Parliament.* It is almost incredible that immediately after this, the Exceedings of the Two next Years shou'd be greater, and less justifiable, than in any of the former Years.

The Expence of the Navy for the Year 1711, exceeded the Supply granted for that Service, above 600000 £. as appears by the Estimate of the Debt of the Navy, at *Michaelmas* 1711, given into Parliament.

The Debt of the Navy at *Christmas* last, as given into Parliament, with the Deficiency of last Years Funds, was above 700000 £. In both these Years, the
Parliament

* Representation, May 24th, 1710.

Parliament made the same Provision for the Navy, as in any Year of the War; and the World must needs be sensible, what great Services have been done at Sea, these last Two Years; but both those Accounts of Exceedings have been laid before this Parliament, and no notice taken of them.

By an Account from the *Exchequer* of the *Sums voted and rais'd, and Sums receiv'd and issued for the Year 1712*, it appears, that the last Year's Expence exceeded the Supplies, by above *half a Million*; a pretty Reasonable Exceeding for such a pacifick Year; and altho' all these Accounts lay upon the Table, to be perused by the Members, not one word of notice is taken of them.

The whole Expedition to *Quebeck* and *Canada* was an Exceeding, for which no Supply was ever yet demanded, or granted in Parliament; and tho' so much has been said of ** supplying Provisions to Land Forces on board*, the same was done in this Case, and likewise for the Regiments that were sent to *Spain* at the latter End of the Year 1710; for which no deduction

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has

* Ditto Representation.

has been yet made, out of the Pay of the Forces, nor any thing reassign'd to the Victualling; and what is most strange, these Services were under Consideration, and going on, at the very time that the Parliament was censuring the late Ministry, for the very same Measures.

Another Method of making this Parliament, and their great Directors, popular, and at the same time, leaving a heavy Imputation upon the late Ministry; was * calling for an Account of all the Publick Debts, which were stated to be more than Nine Millions, and discharging them without any further Charge to the People; that the Debt, at Michaelmas, 1710, was under Seven Millions, is too notorious, to be disputed; that it was swell'd to above Nine Millions, by near Three Millions being granted, in aid of the Supplies of that Year, and computed into the gross Sum, from the nature of the Project, is as well known: But be the Debt what they please; to say it is paid off, and without any Charge to the People, is beyond my Apprehension.

The

* Dec. 7th. 1710.

The Debt was due in the several Offices, and secur'd to the Creditors, by National Credit, on proper Debentures, Bills, and Certificates, that carry'd an Interest of 6. *l. per. Cent.* How is this debt now discharg'd? By being transfer'd to the *General Mortgage*, which is now made a Security for Paying the same Interest as before; if a Man owes a *Thousand Pounds* upon his bond, or any other Personal Security, and afterwards Mortgages his Estate for better securing the Principal, and Interest; will any Man say, that by this means he has paid off or discharg'd his Debt? Or is he not in truth as much in debt as before? But if this Project comes to be thoroughly understood, it will still appear in a very different light, from what the Authors of it labour to represent it; The Funds of the *General Mortgage* were before engag'd to the Year 1716. and therefore could not, till that time, be apply'd towards paying the Interest of the *South Sea Stock*; The annual Interest thereof, is above 570000. *l.* which must till then be paid out of the Supplies granted for the Service of each Current Year, as it has hitherto been done, and by the Votes of this Session we see 540000. *l.* granted expressly

expresly for this Service which is more than 12 d. in the Pound of the Land Tax, or the whole neat produce of the Malt Tax, applyed to Pay the Interest of a Debt, which is said to be paid off, without laying any burthen upon the People; besides, if the People were not to be yearly Tax'd for this Interest; who that has any regard for Posterity, will say, that granting such a considerable Fund in perpetuity, which wou'd otherwise, in Three Years, have been at Liberty, for any future necessities of the Publick; is not laying a heavy burthen upon the People?

Thus we see how the Publick Debts have been paid by this Parliament. In the same manner, do they talk of *Restoring Credit*; we all know, at what time, and to what a degree, the Stocks Sunk at once, that nothing since, not even Peace it self, has been able to raise them to their former value; and I am at a loss to guess, what they mean, who talk of *restoring Credit*; unless it was by making all *Exchequer Bills*, *Specie Bills*; There was indeed a very great Discount upon *non Specie Bills*, occasion'd by the Change of the Ministry, the Parliament granted 45000 l. per. Ann. for Circulating

Exchequer

Exchequer Bills and making all Bills *Specie Bills*; and by that means indeed they did reduce the great Discount they had brought upon them, and for 45000. *l.* per. *Ann.* did restore Credit in the single instance of *Exchequer Bills*.

And now I am upon many matters, I beg leave to mention one thing, which perhaps, has not been consider'd by many; what the several *Prorogations* of this Session from time, to time, to the 12th. of *April* last, did actually cost the Nation; the usual time for the meeting of the Parliament, and even the latest, according to the most modern custom, hath been before *Christmas*; I presume, it will not be deny'd me, but before that time, this last Year, after the repeated *Coffation* of Arms both by Land and Sea, and after the *Duke of Ormond's* Orders to withdraw from the Army and leave the *Allies* to the Mercy of *France*, all things were so thoroughly agreed betwixt *England* and *France*, that the Peace was in Effect concluded betwixt us, or at least that we were entirely satisfy'd, that there cou'd be no further danger of any War betwixt the two Nations, The obstructions, and delays to signing the Peace, arising only from the obstinacy of some

some of the *Allies*, and a restless Faction at home; if this be true, and the Parliament had been suffer'd to meet, the Expence might from that time have been reduc'd, and the same Force that has been judg'd necessary for our Security, both by Sea and Land, for the last 6 Months of this Year, had been equally sufficient for the First 6 Months, and no body will pretend to shew me one reason to the contrary: If so, by comparing the Provision, that the Parliament has made for the First 6 Months of this Year, with the Provision that is made for the Last 6 Months, we shall soon see what might have been sav'd to the Nation, if the Parliament had been permitted to sit at the Usual Time.

* The Expence of 30000 Men for Sea Service, for 6 Months, at the usual Allowance of above 2000000 l. per Ann. for 40000 Men, will amount to about

750000	00	00
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(b) There was granted for defraying the Charge of the Land Forces in Her Majesty's Service, for the First 6 Months,

630888	14	10
--------	----	----

Total Charge of the 1st Half Year, 1386888 14 10

The

The Expence of 10 000 Men for
Sea Service for 6 Months, at the
same Allowance, will amount to
about

250000 00 00

(b) There was granted for Land
Forces, &c. for the last 6 Months
of this Year,

270073 10 10

Total Expence of the 2d Half Year,

520073 10 10

The Difference is

866815 04 00

This proves to a Demonstration, what
the Late *Prorogations* did cost the Nation,
a Sum almost equal to the neat Produce of
this Year's Land Tax; such frequent Pro-
rogations, and such unnecessary Charges
upon the People, might have created some
Uneasiness in a less *Loyal House of Com-
mons*; but this *dutiful Parliament* was ve-
ry well satisfy'd, and readily made good
all the Extraordinary Expences that had
been made, without any Authority, or
Consent of Parliament.

Before I leave this Topick, let me
make one general Observation; That
this *House of Commons*, who thought the
Burthen of the Taxes intollerable; and
that the deplorable Circumstances of the
Nation made almost any Peace desirable;
rais'd and levy'd more Money upon the
E Subject

* Voted Ap. 21. 1713. (b) Voted May 9th. 1713.

Subject in Two Years, in which nothing at all has been done ; than was rais'd in any Two of the most glorious and successful Years of the War ; such Sums, as, if they had been apply'd to a vigorous Prosecution of the War, without such melancholy and reproachful Interruptions as we have seen, had procur'd us indeed, *a safe, lasting and honourable Peace.*

But the Gentlemen, I am afraid, wou'd take it ill if I shou'd pass over in Silence the *Persons* they thought worth their Notice, and upon whom they bestow'd such particular Marks of their Favour.

The *Duke of Marlborough* had beaten *France* too often, ever to be forgiven ; it was necessary he shou'd be disgrac'd, or the Scheme could not go on ; he was too considerable to be dropp'd quietly ; but because his publick Services to his Country could not be call'd in question, the known and usual Perquisites of the General are voted *Publick Money, and to be accounted for.*

And that it might be thought, that this Prosecution of the *Duke of Marlborough* did not proceed entirely from Party malice, they Vote, that the *Two and a half per. Cent.* which had been deducted from

from the Pay of the Forreigners, * *shou'd*
be continued for the Year 1712. and apply'd
for the Service of the War. This had
 an appearance of saving some Money for
 the Publick, but what was really sav'd,
 we shall soon see ; A new General is ap-
 pointed, very different from the last ; A
 General as the Examiner says, *that knew*
how to obey, as well as to Command,
 I believe he did ; But by the clamour that
 has been made in the World of the vast
 Incomes and Salaries of the *Duke of Marl-*
borough, during the time he serv'd, no
 Body wou'd have imagin'd, that the new
 General must have had greater appoint-
 ments and allowances from the Publick,
 than the *Duke of Marlborough* ever had ;
 But 5000. *l.* is immediately paid him for
 his Equipage, which the other never had ;
 and an allowance of 600 *l. per Menssem.* for
 his table, which the *Duke of Marlborough*
 never ask'd or thought of, is directed by
 Warrant out of the Moneys granted for
 the Service of the War. I believe when
 this is computed and added to the 5000. *l.*
 all that was Deducted last Year for the
Two and half per. Cent. from the Forreig-
ners, will fall short of making it good to the
 Publick ; The difference then is, the Fo-
 E 2 reighners,

reigners by Treaty gave it to the *Duke of Marlborough* for Contingencies and Secret Service, The Parliament censure his accepting it, and what then? Grant it themselves, or which is the same thing, the Ministry do it for them, to the New General, and this for Equipage, and Table Money, for as for Secret Service, we all know, there was an end of that, And yet the 10000. *l.* granted for that Service last Year was likewise issu'd to our peaceful General and if an Account was to be made up of all the Salaries and Incomes, which this General received last Year, from the Publick, they wou'd as far exceed the allowances of the *Duke of Marlborough* as the Actions of one out doe the other. I will not take upon me to make up the Account, but if any body will give himself the trouble to compute what is the Income of a *Lord Lieutenant of Ireland*, of *Colonel of the first Regiment of Foot Guards*, of a *Regiment of Horse*, of *General and Commander in chief* at 20. *l.* per. Day, and add these to the Sums abovemention'd, I believe a good Manager might farm them at 40000. *l.* per. *Annum.* and be well paid for his trouble.

The *Lord Townshend* had made a Treaty for Securing a good Barrier to the States, and the Protestant Succession in the House

House of Hannover to these Kingdoms, these were great obstacles, and such, as the *King of France* must needs insist, should be remov'd; what then could be less expected, from such good Friends, as we are now become to *France*, than to declare the Man an *Enemy to the Queen and Kingdom*, who had done such disagreeable things to our best Ally.

Mr. Walpole had been often very troublesome in the House, talk'd of Publick Accounts, which he pretended to understand, and would, upon all occasions, be defending the late *Ministry*, where he thought them clear, and innocent; He must therefore *be sent to the Tower, and expel'd the House* to prevent his giving this Parliament any further trouble; and for a charge against him, or any body else, the *Commissioners of Accounts*, who have by this time sufficiently convinc'd the World, that they are of no use, but to fally the Characters of those, that are out of Power, and to skreen the iniquities of those that are in, were ready, as soon as the word was given, to Cook up a complaint, sufficient for the present purpose, tho' falsify'd by positive evidence upon oath; but in all these censures, it has so happen'd that the Persons concern'd may reckon them as so many Honours done them.

I must not forget the last piece of Civility, that this Courtly House of Commons paid to the Crown. I mean the raising 500000. *l.* to pay the debts of the Civil List. I will not enter into an Account how this debt came to be contracted, 'tis notorious and every Office of the Household can testify this truth; that their Arrears are at least double of what they were at the change of the Ministry; 'Tis very well known, that there was Issued in the first eight Years of her *Majestys* reign, out of the Civil List Funds, to the use of the War, and other Publick occasions, above 500000. *l.* which very easily Accounts for the debt incur'd in that time. I make no doubt, but there have been large and very Extraordinary Issues made since; I do not suppose for the Service of the War; perhaps for obtaining and Justifying this wonderful Peace; tho' methinks, 'tis hard that *France* should not Pay that reckoning; which altho' I can give no account of, I make no doubt but they that were so ready to Pay the Debt had their reasons for so doing, and can in a great measure account for the contracting of it, whether they were induc'd to Pay this Debt, for the share they have had of it, or what they are to have, towards enabling them to carry their

their next Elections is not Material, but 'tis certainly a most dangerous precedent, to be Mortgaging the Funds, that are settled for the support of the Civil Lists which by degrees may all be so far engag'd, and granted away, that a *Land Tax* or a *Malt Tax* must be made at last an *Hereditary Revenue* for support of the Honour and Dignity of the Crown.

I must not omit the singular behaviour of this Parliament in relation to the *Treaty of Commerce*; I do not intend to enter into a disquisition of the Treaty, and show, how destructive it was to the Trade of *Great Britain*, in all its parts, That was so well understood, by all sensible Men about this Town, and I hope will be so thoroughly understood, by all the Trading parts of the Kingdom, that they will either Elect none, that gave the least countenance to such a pernicious Bill, or give them such instructions, to oppose any Future attempt of that kind, that there shall be no danger of the Treaty's being render'd effectual; But what's remarkable, is the conduct of the House of Commons upon this occasion, they were zealous for the *Treaty of Commerce* in every Step, and wou'd bear no opposition till they came to the Question of engrossing the bill, by that time Petitions from all parts of the Country

Country began to alarm them, and whether out of a regard to the good of their Country, or an apprehension of losing their next Elections, I will not determine, But a sudden turn was taken, and the bill rejected, and here was an end at once of all the wonderful advantages that *Great Britain* was to reap from this celebrated Peace; But rejecting the bill, was not so trivial a matter, it gave too great offence, and something must be done to give Satisfaction for this 1st. instance of disloyalty.

The same Gentlemen therefore, who had been instrumental in rejecting the Bill, must now make a healing Address and atone by the Loss of their Reputations, for the good Service they had dar'd to do their Country; having at the Opening of the Session, congratulated the *Queen* upon the conclusion of a Peace, which they then knew nothing of; * *they express now their Thankfulness for the Terms and Conditions of it*, which they had just rejected, as dangerous and pernicious to the Kingdom: But they say, † *so good a Foundation of Trade was laid, as might be farther improv'd, to the Advantage of the Kingdom, which they desire may be perfected, and so explain'd, as fully to answer Her Majesty's*

* Address, June 23, 1713. † Ditto.

jest's good Intentions for the Good and Welfare of her People. What a Mockery is here, and plain Contradiction to all common Sense? But how it was understood at Court, is plain by the Queen's Answer, (a) she thanks them, for fully expressing their Approbation of the Treaties of Peace and Commerce, and promises them not to improve, perfect, or explain; but to secure to them the Benefits and Advantages, which with great Difficulty, had been obtain'd for her Subjects; and for this most Gracious Answer, the House of Commons returns their most humble thanks; thereby confessing, they did fully approve the Treaty of Commerce, which they had just rejected, and that all they desir'd, was to have those same advantages in Trade secur'd to them, which for want of understanding, they had so lately mistaken for great mischiefs, and unavoidable destruction, to all the manufactures of Great Britain; but by these steps and what was said at the conclusion of this Session; there is one thing the People of England may be very sure of; that this same Treaty of Commerce neither explain'd, improv'd nor perfected, and no other will be laid before the next

F Parliament

(a) Queen's Answer to the last Address.

Parliament; and no endeavours wanting to carry it thro' and render it effectual.

Such recantations, as this seems to be, are a little new in Parliament; and I was at a loss to find any thing like it, till this Parliament furnish'd me with a Precedent, in the committee of ways and means, *a duty upon leather* was mov'd, and press'd by the Court, but rejected as grievous to the People. This was resent'd in a very high manner; but a little discipline soon made amends, and the same Gentlemen who voted against a *duty upon Leather*, ask'd Pardon and oblig'd the Court with their Votes for a *Duty upon Hides and Skins Tann'd Taw'd or dress'd*.

Some short Account of the Secret History of this *Treaty of Commerce* may not be improper and may serve to enlighten the World concerning it. When it was first publish'd, and Objections against it arose, it was entertain'd by *our great Men* as a thing very indifferent to them, and for which they were no ways concern'd; but desir'd the bill might take its fate, as it shou'd be judg'd advantageous, or prejudicial to the Nation; when the 8th. and 9th. Articles came to be better consider'd, and it was manifest to every body, that the plain Sense and meaning of them, cou'd no ways be understood, but to the prejudice

judge of *Great Britain*; these were called
 factious constructions, and such as *France*
 never means or design'd; and upon ap-
 plication of the *East India Company*, it was
 promis'd them, that an explanation shou'd
 be procur'd from *France*, in a week's
 time, entirely to their Satisfaction. But
 this explanation was never since heard of;
 there were several instructions given to
 the Committee for Clauses to enact the
French King's meaning; but the uneasi-
 ness still increasing, and a general discon-
 tent arising, the next expedient was to
 drop the Bill; and this was promis'd in a
 Letter wrote to the *Speaker* for that pur-
 pose; but *France* still persisting, no expla-
 nation can be had, either to ease the pre-
 sent difficulty; or any hopes given, of
 such alterations against another Parlia-
 ment, as might quiet the minds of the
 People. What then was to be done? They
 who seem'd so indifferent at the begin-
 ning, can no longer disguise themselves;
 new Orders are given on a sudden and
 the Bill must be carry'd thro' with a SPI-
 RIT, for *France* wou'd have it so; and
 so little did they doubt of Success, that
 the *French Ambassador* had an *Express* rea-
 dy booted to send the good news of pas-
 sing the bill to *France*; a Bonfire pil'd
 before *Somerset House-gate*, and *Jones's*

Guns ready loaded to eccho the glad tydings from t'otherside of the Water. And with good reason was all this preparation made; for the bill was rejected but by *Nine Votes*; so narrowly did the Trade of *Great Britain* and all its manufactures escape the most fatal blow that ever was attempted to be given them.

But 'tis not to be wonder'd at, that such attempts as these have been made, and that the good nature of the House of Commons is so much rely'd upon; There was nothing that the *People of England* have been better pleas'd with, than the delivering up *Dunkirk*, and the hopes of its demolition; This seems to be expressly provided for, in the *Treaty of Peace*; and that it should be done, within five Months, after the Conditions of Peace are concluded and sign'd, but there follows an Exception, that the Demolition shall not be begun, till the *Equivalent* for it is put into the hands of the *King of France*; This naturally led the House of Commons to enquire by an Address, * *what the Equivalent was to be for the demolishing Dunkirk, or in case it was not demolish'd, what was Stipulated concerning it*; for 'tis observable, that this Equivalent is no where mention'd

* June 3d. 1713.

mention'd either in the *Treaty of Peace* betwixt *England* and *France*, or *France* and *Holland*.

In about * *Three Weeks* after, an Answer comes to this Address, *That the Equivalent, which was to be given for Dunkirk, was already in the Hands of the French King.* And is it credible that such an Answer to this Address should prove satisfactory? Or is any Man in *England* a jot the wiser, or does he know at all the more, what is this *Equivalent*, or what is to become of *Dunkirk*? If the *Equivalent* is in the Hands of *France*, why are not the Works begun to be demolish'd? The Peace was sign'd the Last of *March*, O. S. The Works towards the Sea were to be demolish'd in Two Months, those towards the Land in Three Months; the *Equivalent* we are told is in the Hands of *France*, and yet there is not one Stroke struck now in almost Four Months, in order to the Demolition; and at the same time the House of Commons is not only satisfy'd with such an Answer, but what is more strange, have made a provision for the Garrison of *Dunkirk* till *Christmas* next, and

* *June* 20th. 1713.

and granted a Supply of near 400000
for that purpose. After this what can
we suppose too gross to pass upon this
House of Commons? *and I * goods*

I will conclude with one general Re-
mark; That this House of Commons
must be confess'd to be a Set of very *Du-
tiful* and *Loyal* Gentlemen; who out of
Principle will go as far in complying
with all the Demands of a Ministry, as
any that ever went before them, or can e-
ver succeed them: But I would not have
it thought, that all this was pure Loyalty;
a little Regard to themselves, and a
small Spice of Interest, must be allow'd
to have had some share in influencing,
and procuring all this *dutiful* and submis-
sive Behaviour; and I wonder indeed
that those who employ'd them, and had
the Benefit of their profess'd Zeal for the
Prerogative, did not consult their Ho-
nours a little more, than so openly and
barefac'd, at the End of each Session, to
be rewarding them for their good and
faithful Service. It was never known be-
fore, that Days were set apart for rewar-
ding Members of Parliament with Places
and Employments; he that will look up-
on the Votes of the Last Day of the
First Session, will find almost nothing
done, but new *Writs* order'd in the room

of Parliament Men, who had receiv'd their Wages for their past Years Service; and in such a Pitch were they come at last, that at the End of the Second Session, when the *Queen's* Speech was made; and the Session clos'd, to all other Intents and Purposes, Both Houses are ordered to adjourn themselves for *Eighteen Days*, as if something extraordinary was still behind, that might require the Sitting of the Parliament; but when the Day comes, nothing is done, but a second List of *Loyal Members* *preferr'd*, is produc'd; and the Vacancies of *Patriots* turn'd *Courtiers*, are by new Writs order'd to be fill'd up; that these *dutiful* Members might be ready at the beginning of the Next Session, to serve those that had so well rewarded them for their past Services.

This is a very short History of this memorable Parliament; you see the Picture in Miniature, if it were to be drawn at whole length, and to the life, it would surprise you more; but by this Sample the Freeholders of *England* may judge, by what means this Parliament has deserv'd to have their Memory transmitted to Posterity; and will surely consider well of their past Behaviour, before they choose those again, who for the
 Characters

**Characters of Loyal and Dutiful have sa-
crific'd their Country to the Power of
France; which can end in nothing but
bringing in the Pretender, Popery, and
Slavery.**

FINIS.

